

FEBRUARY 24, 1945

# AMERICA

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DETROIT

## BIG THREE AT YALTA

The Editors

## LATIN AMERICA AND DUMBARTON OAKS

Wilfrid Parsons

## THE DIALOG MASS AND THE PEOPLE

John P. Delaney

## WILL CAPITALISM COMMIT SUICIDE?

E. Harold Smith



SCIENCE  
NOTES

NATION  
AT WAR

WASHINGTON  
FRONT

FILMS  
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- Part 3. The Saviour. Man's solidarity in Adam. Paul's concept of fallen man. Solidarity in Christ
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# COMMENT ON THE WEEK

**Congress and Bretton Woods.** Timing his message to coincide with the communique from the Big Three meeting at Yalta, the President asked Congress for speedy ratification of the Bretton Woods monetary proposals. While he did not say so in so many words, he plainly implied that the agreement concluded last summer by representatives of forty-four nations constituted a concrete test of our willingness to participate in international affairs. The President pointed out that friendly political relations among countries greatly depend for success on finding solutions to world economic problems. He thought that, despite imperfections which can be corrected in time, the international bank and stabilization fund outlined at Bretton Woods could provide credit for the rehabilitation of war-shattered economies and contribute toward orderly exchange rates between different monies. Adverting to the opposition of the American Bankers Association to the stabilization fund, he said that the fund

... spells the difference between a world caught again in the maelstrom of panic and economic warfare culminating in war—as in the Nineteen Thirties—or a world in which the members strive for a better life through mutual trust, cooperation and assistance.

Whether the criticism of the stabilization fund by some influential banking groups is justified or not is a matter of opinion. What cannot be disputed is that experts from forty-four countries, after long discussion and many compromises, agreed on the necessity for the fund. Under the circumstances, to ask the Congress, as the ABA has done, to amputate the Bretton Woods plan, not only cripples it but effectively destroys it. If the Congress does not accept these monetary proposals substantially as they are, there is little hope of reaching agreement on any other plan. The endeavor to make money and credit, by international agreement, serve the needs of the world will have failed. And the failure of Bretton Woods will foreshadow the failure of Dumbarton Oaks. This is the main point for Congress to keep in mind.

**The Ludlow Proposal.** Religious leaders of the country, replying to an inquiry by Rep. Louis Ludlow of Indiana, emphasized the lack of coordination between these same leaders in the matter of essential requirements for peace. Mr. Ludlow has suggested a conference of these leaders with Secretary Stettinius at the present time. Citing the "Pattern For Peace," issued simultaneously by Catholic, Protestant and Jewish leaders on October 7, 1943, he likewise suggested that they confer in order to "reach certain bases of common agreement and to prepare definite recommendations on which all denominations can stand." Archbishop Curley of Baltimore and Washington, Archbishop Stritch of Chicago, and Archbishop Rummel of New Orleans referred to the recent statement of the American Hierarchy as a clear expression of American Catholic thought on the peace issue. Archbishop Howard of Portland in Oregon approved of the joint conference with Mr. Stettinius, with the thought that it might be helpful in "concentrating the forces of public opinion upon what is actually possible as well as restraining demands for what is, momentarily at least, unattainable." Added the Archbishop: "The Christian influence in world affairs can become felt only as it is freed from any reason for charging that it is constantly preaching the impossible. That acceptance of minimum principles if possible is shown

by the manner in which Protestant, Catholic and Jewish leaders endorsed the Pattern for Peace." Mr. Ludlow found Catholics more united than Protestants in planning mobilization of Christian influence for lasting world peace. If, as Archbishop Curley pointed out, the Protestants can themselves unite on their own principles, it will greatly facilitate any joint action that we may undertake with them.

**Delegates for San Francisco.** General satisfaction was expressed at the selection by President Roosevelt of the American delegation to the United Nations Conference which will meet April 25 at San Francisco. Heading the delegation will be Secretary of State Stettinius. Former Secretary Cordell Hull is also on the delegation. In view of his long experience and strenuous work for international collaboration, it is not improbable that he may be asked to preside over the deliberations of the whole assembly. Four Congressmen will go: Senator Tom Connally, chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations; Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, author of the recent proposal of a military alliance to keep Germany and Japan disarmed; Rep. Sol Bloom, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee; and Rep. Charles A. Eaton, ranking Republican member of the same Committee. Commander Harold Stassen, former Governor of Minnesota, and Dean Virginia Gildersleeve, of Barnard College, New York City, will complete the delegation. The President seems to have followed the policy laid down by Mr. Hull when Secretary of State of giving the Senate and both major parties their part in the peace-mak-

## THIS WEEK

COMMENT ON THE WEEK.....	401
The Nation at War.....Col. Conrad H. Lanza	403
Washington Front.....Wilfrid Parsons	403
Underscorings.....Louis E. Sullivan	403
ARTICLES	
Latin America and Dumbarton Oaks.....Wilfrid Parsons	404
Will Capitalism Commit Suicide?.....E. Harold Smith	405
Showdown in CIO.....Benjamin L. Masse	406
Dialog Mass in the Parish.....John P. Delaney	407
Science Notes.....Walter J. Miller, S.J.	409
EDITORIALS .....	410
Crimean Conference . . . Big Three and the War . . . San Francisco Conference . . . Germany . . . Poland	
LITERATURE AND ART.....	412
Catholic Art's Problem.....Thomas L. O'Brien	
Deserters (A Poem).....Ethel Barnett de Vito	
BOOKS .....	REVIEWED BY
Poor Child....The Thurber	
Carnival.....Harold C. Gardiner	413
The Idea of Progress in America: 1815-1860.....W. Eugene Shiels	414
Citizen Toussaint.....Mercer Cook	414
THEATRE.....FILMS.....PARADE	418
CORRESPONDENCE.....THE WORD	419

ing. May this departure from Wilson's procedure portend a happier outcome to the negotiations than that which fell to the lot of our last wartime President.

**The State and the Unions.** Speaking at a reception for labor representatives to the World Trade Union Congress in London, Archbishop Griffin of Westminster warned the unionists against two dangers to trade unions: becoming the tool of political parties, and absorption by the state. "The state," said the Archbishop, "exists to protect trade unions, not to dominate them." (The reaction of the Russian delegates who were present to this indirect commentary on their own state-controlled unions is not recorded.) The Archbishop was speaking in the full Papal tradition. Leo XIII, in 1891, vindicated the right of workingmen to form unions. And in the same *Rerum Novarum* in which he upheld the worker's right to organize, Leo XIII uttered a word of warning to the state: "Let the state watch over these societies . . . but let it not thrust itself into their peculiar concerns and their organization, for things live and move by the soul within them, and they may be killed by the grasp of a hand from without."

**Case Against Peacetime Conscription.** Under the imprint of the National Catholic Educational Association, Father Edward V. Stanford, O.S.A., has just published *The Case Against Peacetime Conscription*. At the outset he makes some necessary clarifications. "It is possible to be opposed to peacetime conscription on reasonable grounds without being a pacifist, an isolationist or one guilty of short-sightedness as regards national defense. . . . It does violence to the meaning of words, whether in war or in peace, to call military conscription (the favorite tool of dictators for more than a hundred years) the *more democratic method* of raising armed forces." He then reminds us that the maintenance of a reserve of trained manpower is *only one of the means* of safeguarding our national security. More important is the forging of a just peace and the building of an international organization to protect it. A permanent policy of peacetime conscription, adopted now, could jeopardize the possibility of such an organization even before it was born. Father Stanford maintains that we shall need a sizable army and navy with adequate reserves for many years to come. But he is convinced that this does not call for the extreme method of peacetime conscription. Such a method he rejects as being detrimental to the morale of our youth, to their vocations and careers, to their religion and morals. It would be detrimental as well to our political and social institutions. Father Stanford's is one more voice in the swelling chorus of opposition to the hasty and ill-advised plans drawn up by predominantly military groups for our peacetime economy. Not by such plans shall we obtain security.

**Can Protestantism Win Latin America?** Dr. Everett Gill, Jr., is secretary for Latin America of the Southern Baptist Convention's Foreign Mission Board. He has recently made some revelations which throw an interesting light on the accusations made by Protestants against the State Department and the Roman Catholic Hierarchy. Official Protestant bodies have repeatedly charged that the State Department has, at the instigation of the Hierarchy, exercised discrimination against Protestant missionaries applying for passports to Latin America. The State Department has issued three separate denials of these charges, citing figures which show that the number of passports granted is "rather impressively in favor of the Protestants." These denials had

no effect, but perhaps Dr. Gill's testimony will be more impressive. He disclosed, as reported in *Religious News Service*, that fifty new missionaries of the Southern Baptist Convention will leave for Latin America in April. The mission field in Latin America, he said, is "growing and expanding now as never before." "Over half of our staff of 500 is in that field," he added, and "two-thirds of all our mission work is being done in Latin America."

**Mother Dammann's Memory.** When Mother Grace Dammann, President of Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart, in New York City, passed away suddenly on February 13, she had established her record as one of the country's greatest women educators. She left the memory of a unique and friendly personality. But it is a fair guess that she will be chiefly known for her active and pioneering interest in the interracial question, in the light of Catholic teaching and tradition. Under her presidency a Negro student was first admitted to Manhattanville College, early in 1938. A few days later, 82 per cent of the students approved of this action by written ballot; most of the alumnae approved, a few violently protested. But at the reunion of the alumnae that year Mother Dammann ended the controversy by a memorable address, "Principles versus Prejudices," which placed beyond all question the right of duly qualified Negro youth to higher Catholic education. Although Negroes had already been attending many Catholic colleges before the question was raised at Manhattanville, Mother Dammann's decisive action, coupled with her charity and patience in completing it, did more than any scholastic happening heretofore to remove one of the greatest obstacles to the Church's mission work in this country, as well as a host of harmful fears and forebodings in the minds of Catholics themselves. The influence of her firm and reasoned position will be felt in the field of education for generations to come.

**Shakespeare on Broadway.** The current New York production of *The Tempest* is a musical comedy, according to Local 802 of the American Federation of Musicians. The musicians' excursion into the sister art hinged upon the fact that a musical comedy would call for more and higher-paid musicians than a drama. The decision tempts to speculation. Will the Maritime Union insist upon union sailors for the shipwreck scene? Will the restaurateurs demand real cooks for the witches' broth in *Macbeth*? What about the grave-diggers in *Hamlet*? "Others abide our question; thou art free," said Matthew Arnold of Shakespeare. Not any more, it seems.

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## THE NATION AT WAR

THE ATTACKS converging from east and west upon what remains of the former mighty German armies appear to be nearing the end. The Germans can no longer do more than resist.

The Russian offensive through Poland had a straight north-and-south front when it started in mid-January. The front is now like a huge triangle with its head blunted. This head, about 50 miles wide, is only 30-odd miles away from Berlin. The flanks trail behind for hundreds of miles.

This Russian formation is peculiarly susceptible to a counter-offensive directed at the base of the triangle. Such an attack might pinch off the head and capture very large forces. The German generals are very well aware of this. This is exactly what the Germans did in 1914, 1915 and 1939. If they are not doing it at this time, the probable explanation is that they have not got the striking power to do so.

The German army still has considerable fighting power; but it has shown a complete lack of ability to do anything else except to force the attackers to continue on the offensive. Certainly the Allies are losing men. They have not lost courage and, as long as they remain determined to go on with the war, it is hard to see how Germany can possibly escape.

Many will wonder why Germany does not surrender. British advices state that the German secret service reports that if the war can be kept going through this year, the Russian people will insist on peace. This idea may be as wrong as some others previously held about Russia; but it is an explanation of why the Germans still continue with the fight.

In the meantime, the head of the Russian offensive has been temporarily stopped before the fortresses of Frankfurt and Kuestrin. To solve this problem, new Russian attacks are under way: to the north against Stettin, and to the south against Saxony. The latter attack is making the better progress.

In the west, the Canadian and British armies are attacking in the north; and Americans in the center. These advances are slow, for, instead of open plains to fight over, the terrain is rough and rugged and it is difficult country.

COL. CONRAD H. LANZA

## WASHINGTON FRONT

THERE IS AN OFFICIAL in Washington, called the Comptroller General of the United States, who is little known outside the city and, when he is known, is sometimes confused with the Comptroller of the Currency. He is better known as head of the General Accounting Agency, or GAO.

By the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921, the Comptroller settles all claims for and against the United States, signs all warrants, keeps a bookkeeping record of them, investigates all expenditures of the departments and independent agencies and audits their books. What is significant, he is not responsible to the Executive, but reports directly to Congress.

The Committees on Expenditures in both Houses are his counterpart in Congress, and they are supposed to receive his reports. Recently, with the enormous increase in Government expenditures, two men, one in each House, have renewed their long-standing attempts to have their colleagues understand his potential importance.

Congressman John J. Cochran of Missouri offered an amendment to the Independent Offices Appropriation bill, by which the Comptroller's investigation division would be expanded so that it could report to Congress not only whether funds are administered honestly and efficiently, but whether they were useful and necessary in the first place, and not duplicated in other agencies.

Senator Aiken of Vermont introduced a bill that went even farther. He demands that the Comptroller make his reports constantly, and not once a year; in other words, that he become in fact, as he was intended to be, a going adjunct to the two Congressional committees.

Mr. Cochran has pointed out that if this were done it would greatly relieve the burden on Congress; for one thing, it would make unnecessary some seventy select committees now investigating the agencies. It would also preserve Congress from an old bad habit of creating two, three, or more agencies all overlapping and duplicating the same function. It would also, of course, save the people a lot of money. Is it too much to hope that we may follow the example of the House of Commons, in which the corresponding committee is always presided over and controlled by members of the Opposition?

WILFRID PARSONS

## UNDERSCORINGS

THE MOST REV. Edward F. Ryan inaugurated his regime as fifth Bishop of Burlington with an eloquent appeal for unity amongst all the citizens of Vermont, Catholic and non-Catholic. Speaking at his installation on February 9, he cited the example of unity and steadfastness given by the boys at the front and pleaded that we at home do all in our power to restore to them "the kind of America for which they yearn and for which they are fighting, suffering and dying."

► An AP dispatch from Rome reports that Israele Anton Zolli, Grand Rabbi of Rome, and his wife were baptized into the Catholic Church on February 13, after he had resigned his post and declined the presidency of the Rabbinical College. Baptism was administered at the Basilica of Santa Maria degli Angeli by Msgr. Luigi Traglia, Vice Regent of Rome. He took the name Eugenio Maria in gratitude to Pope Pius XII for the aid he gave Jews in Rome during the German occupation.

► The statement of "The Big Three" after the Crimean Conference makes provision for compensation in kind to be made by Germany for damage done to the Allied Nations. It would be a grave injustice, however, if this provision is not extended at least in some instances to other victims of Nazi rapacity. The Italian Commission of Fine Arts has officially estimated at \$50,000,000 the value of works of art taken by the Nazis in Italy. The missing works, it adds, if assembled, would "form one of the largest and most magnificent museum collections in the world."

► Pioneers in the movement for interracial justice are meeting these days with many encouraging signs that the barriers of prejudice and ignorance are gradually breaking down. Of special significance is the announcement, in N.C.W.C. News Service, of the first interracial community of Perpetual Adoration in this country. Founded by the Rev. Harold Purcell in Marbury, Ala., it has four white nuns and two Negro postulants.

LOUIS E. SULLIVAN

# LATIN AMERICA AND DUMBARTON OAKS

WILFRID PARSONS

WHEN THE DUMBARTON OAKS PROPOSALS were given to the world on October 7 of last year, it was rightly emphasized that they were only proposals. They were not the ultimate Charter of the new world organization. They were something to shoot at—to change or amend, as the trend of world opinion might demand.

Well, the shooting began almost immediately. The Catholic Bishops were among the first to take aim, in their collective statement of November 16. They offered several constructive amendments. Very recently, the Federal Council of Churches has offered some very interesting suggestions, also from the moral viewpoint.

At this present moment our State Department is examining and summarizing the replies from the Central- and South-American countries. Some of these documents, I am told, are quite bulky, and all of them extremely interesting in their comments on the Proposals.

While we are waiting for these replies and comments to be published (if they ever are), we have very recently—on January 29, to be exact—been given a picture of the Latin-American mind in the Preliminary Comments and Recommendations of the Inter-American Juridical Committee. This Committee was instructed by Resolution XXV of the Third Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs to make specific recommendations on a future international organization, and it made its Preliminary Recommendation in November, 1942. This present report on the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals is in line with its function.

The Committee at present is composed of five members: F. Nieto del Rio, of Chile; A. Gomez Robledo, of Mexico; Francisco Campos, of Brazil; L. A. Podesta Costa, of Argentina; and Charles G. Fenwick, of the United States—a former President of the Catholic Association for International peace, and a recognized authority on international law, as are the others. The Committee sits permanently at Rio de Janeiro.

The Committee, as might have been expected, accepts in principle the proposal for a General International Organization (to give it its present name), with its principal organs: a General Assembly, a Security Council, a Court of Justice, an Economic and Social Council and a permanent Secretariat. Mr. Fenwick tells me in a letter that the report was intended to be constructive, not purely destructive, criticism.

## THE LATIN MIND AND VIEW

I shall not mention many of the comments and suggestions—for they are purely verbal—for purposes of clarification. It might have been expected that the Latin mind would be a little impatient on this score, for the Anglo-Saxon and Russian minds, which made the Proposals, are not noted for clarity of expression. A great many of the comments of the Committee, however, go straight to the heart of the problem. Here are some of them.

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals start with two chapters—on Purposes and Principles respectively. These chapters offered a field-day for the Latin Americans, who like their purposes and principles metaphysically sound, whatever be their practices in the actual application. This Committee shows itself acutely conscious of the realistic power and value of theory and principle.

The four purposes in the Proposals—international peace, friendly relations, international cooperation and a center of harmony—seem quite all right to the Committee, as far as they go. But the Committee remarks on the absence of the mention of *justice* in these purposes, and suggests that “the promotion of justice in international relations” should be inserted. And it tells why. If the GIO is to be merely a guarantee of the *status quo* after the peace treaties, then its other purposes cannot be attained, unless the moral value of justice be the animating purpose of the whole organization.

Nobody who realizes the Catholic origins of this Committee will be surprised at that suggestion.

## THE MATTER OF SOVEREIGNTY

The first of the six principles of the Proposals is that of “the sovereign equality of all peace-loving states.” On this the Committee has several things to say. As for sovereignty, it assumes that this does not mean that it includes the right of every nation to be the judge in its own case nor the right to take the law into its own hands. The Proposals clearly imply a limitation of sovereignty in this fundamental sense.

And here it might be well to remark that some in this country who are quickest to deny to Russia these “rights” happen to be the very ones who strenuously assert them for the United States. We all live in the same world and we cannot have it both ways.

As for equality, the Latin-American states are particularly sensitive, and very naturally they welcome the explicit declaration of this point. At the same time it is made clear that they are aware of an accompanying relative political importance of some larger states, as is evidenced from their larger quotas of money, men and munitions in maintaining international institutions. This is an indication of the moderateness of the Committee's comments, to which I shall return.

What, then, does “sovereign equality” mean? The Committee seems to think that it would be a good idea to make it clear that the GIO is not a super-state, and seizes on these words to indicate that it understands from them that no such thing is contemplated.

At this point the Committee raises two points which at first sight might seem to contradict each other. It thinks the age-old axiom *pacta sunt servanda*—“treaties are to be observed”—and the principle of change in the international set-up should both be inserted. What it means, of course, is that changes may be necessary, and we must allow for them, but also that when changes are made they should not be unilateral, but under the supervision of the General International Organization.

Again, the Committee is not satisfied with the amount of authority attributed to the Organization. It thinks we should come right out and say that “the community of nations has rights in its own name,” since it is not a mere agent of the separate states, but has a *corporate character of its own*. It may be remembered that in his Christmas Allocation the Pope stressed the same point.

The Proposals, speaking of membership, call for a union of “peace-loving states.” The Committee respectfully submits that this is not the right word. “Law-abiding states” it thinks would be better. At the same time it holds that no nation is privileged to remain aloof. For this reason it objects to expulsion as a penalty for transgression. Suspension, punishment, yes; but not expulsion. The aggressor should not get off so easily. He must always remain under the jurisdiction of the others. I think this is a good point.

When we come to the General Assembly, many critics

have objected that this body has insufficient legislative powers. This Committee does not seem to go so far. It notes that the Assembly makes recommendations only. It asks: to whom? And it makes a distinction between recommendations for international cooperation and those which change the rules of international law.

It thinks that the former type of recommendations—those for cooperation—should be made to the Security Council, though it is not clear to me whether it thinks the Council is then obligated to enforce them. As for those recommendations which change the rules of international law, it holds that they must be submitted to the several states for ratification, for only then, it holds, would they have validity.

These are points that are sure to be debated. I am myself doubtful how the second point—the necessity of submitting changes in the rules to the states—is compatible with the Committee's position that, while the GIO is not a super-state, still it has an authoritative character of its own. Does the authority of the GIO apply only to emergency cases of aggression? And then only when previous international law permits?

#### SECURITY COUNCIL

The Security Council, which is the executive body, is, according to the Proposals, to be composed of the Big Four—with France "in due course"—as permanent members, with six other states as rotating members. Objection has been voiced to making the Big Five permanent members, but the Committee does not share in this misgiving. It is impressed by the fairness of the big states in allowing themselves to be in a voting minority (supposing they always voted alike), and it freely concedes that those upon whom, precisely because of their bigness, the main burden in money, men and munitions in enforcing peace will fall, should have the main responsibility, and therefore the main and permanent authority.

The Committee, however, wisely conceives that the Big Five may not always remain big, or that some nation may grow bigger than one of them. Hence it proposes that a canvass be taken every twenty years, or at least that the "permanence" of the permanent members be limited to ten or twenty years. Argentina and Brazil will both subscribe to that provision.

Another point on which there has been criticism of the Proposals is the system of the regional arrangements which they allow, and even encourage. The Committee does not agree with that criticism either. It points out, perhaps with a smile of complacency, that "the Inter-American regional system is the only regional system thus far developed." Therefore, it makes the respectful suggestion that this system, with its incredibly intricate and multiple procedures, be mentioned in the ultimate Charter as the pattern and exemplar of all other regional arrangements.

The implications of that suggestion are too far-reaching for me to mention here, but I have been told on good authority that when at Teheran Mr. Roosevelt objected to Stalin's assumption of regional arrangements, the Soviet leader pointed out Inter-America, and asked, furthermore, if United States control of the Caribbean approaches to the Canal is not a sphere of influence.

The Committee welcomes the fact that there is to be an Economic and Social Council, though, since it is subordinate to the Assembly, it recommends a change from "Council" to "Commission." In fact, it agrees with previous commentators who have opined that this economic and social body may turn out to be the most influential of all, since it deals

with the causes of war, while the Council ordinarily comes into action only when a threat of war is actually in the offing.

There are many other suggestions and recommendations made by the Committee, but these seem to me to be the principal ones. Everyone concerned will, I am sure, be surprised and gratified by their moderation. This important committee has answered the challenge of Dumbarton Oaks for constructive discussion. Catholics can be especially pleased that its comments all mean the addition of the powerful motive of international morality and justice to the legal mechanism for peace and security.

## WILL CAPITALISM COMMIT SUICIDE?

E. HAROLD SMITH

IN A SERIES of articles appearing in AMERICA in the Fall of 1944, Father Benjamin Masse, S.J., identified certain forces that can destroy the free-enterprise system, as it is termed, and pave the way for collectivism. One of the forces enumerated at that time was composed, strange as it may seem, of the system's staunchest defenders. The letters of Professor Irving Fisher to the *New York Times* on this subject in early December, and the more recent lengthy advertisements of the National Industrial Information Committee of the National Association of Manufacturers, appearing in the same paper, strengthen considerably this prediction.

In the course of the letters, Dr. Fisher made two statements that deserve to be emphasized. First, he underlined the advantages of a free American economy over the controlled Russian economy. These advantages demand recognition. Secondly, he drew attention to the principle that the Government should restrict itself to whatever it alone can do or do best, and leave to individuals whatever individuals can do best. While it is easily conceivable that differences may arise between Dr. Fisher and others in applying this rule, it is the basis of a sound policy and its truth should be kept in mind. The greater part of these letters, however, involve implications that are not valid.

#### DISTRIBUTING THE INCOME

The statement of William Graham Sumner to the effect that "we should level up, not level down" is quoted with approval. If this means that it should be possible progressively to raise the standard of living for the masses without appreciably affecting the standard of living of those groups enjoying higher incomes, the statement offers no great difficulty. If, however—as can very easily be implied—these words mean that certain groups in our economy can continue to take the same percentage of the national income as they have been accustomed to receive as their share, without affecting adversely other and larger groups, this implication is not justified. It is the contention of a considerable number of competent economists that for a stable economy after the war with full employment, management and investors must be willing to receive a smaller share proportionately of this income, and wage-earners and farmers must receive a larger share than formerly. It is a simple problem in arithmetic to understand that the national income, like a pie, is of definite size at any one time. If some groups are to receive more, then other groups must receive less. It well may be that in reality the return to all groups may be larger

because the size of the pie has been increased, but these amounts will represent for management and investors a smaller *percentage* of the total than did their shares previously.

If there exists any widespread disposition on the part of business and industry to recognize the necessity for a more equitable distribution of income, the recent pronouncements of business spokesmen do not disclose it. On the contrary, the advertisement of the National Industrial Information Committee, which appeared in *The New York Times* on January 20, made one statement that almost of necessity must be construed as implicitly denying the need for any change in income distribution. In both the statements of this Committee—now being published at intervals—and in Professor Fisher's letters, there is another implication that is fallacious, namely, that if business is not hampered by governmental restrictions it will prosper, and if business prospers and advances all will be well with the masses of workers in the United States.

#### THE TESTIMONY OF HISTORY

It is quite clear that wage-earners cannot attain a favorable standard of living if the business enterprises for which they are working are not in a flourishing condition. It does not follow, however, that because business and industry are advancing, the wage-earner will by sheer force of this prosperity share in the profits that are being realized. The record of historic capitalism in this country or in any other country gives the workers no reason to believe that because business prospers they will therefore find themselves in a favorable position.

In a book entitled *Labor Problems* (page 205), T. S. Adams summarized the history of the rise of the working population to its present status. His words take on added significance because he himself was not an advocate of organized labor, but an economist teaching at Yale University in the years immediately following the first World War. Professor Adams wrote:

In the last six centuries the laboring population has risen from a condition of serfdom to a state of political freedom. In this struggle for economic equality the victories have been won by the wage-earners themselves. Where they did not pursue their interest, they lost their interest. When they forgot to demand their full reward, they failed to receive their full reward. They had occasional encouragement and even an occasional leader from the employing class, but in the main they fought their way against the opposition, and not with the assistance, of their employers. Their weapons were the strike and the trade union . . . Always and everywhere the salvation of the working class has been collective action and, while the wage system remains, their progress will continue to be dependent upon collective action.

Very probably today the vast majority of wage-earners are aware of the historical fact that Professor Adams so impressively sets forth. Pledges of "a just and enlightened wage policy, and the opening of every possible avenue of advancement for the worker" are too general and too meaningless to lull them into a state of complacency and trust. They will be justified in their demand that business state specifically what definite measures private enterprise is prepared to take in order that the ten million workers who were unemployed during the years preceding the war will be able to find jobs.

In Dr. Fisher's letters to the *New York Times*, in the advertisements of the National Association of Manufac-

turers and the statements of most of the exponents of free enterprise, there is contained implicitly what almost amounts to an act of faith in an unalterable free-enterprise system. It is difficult to understand why the system in its present form, with its glaring defects, should be regarded as sacrosanct. If the position be taken that no modifications need be made in the system and that it can flourish only under laissez-faire conditions, then the support of all who have done any realistic economic thinking will be lost and the road to some kind of collectivism will be made easier. It is surpassingly strange that men who are fully aware that study and research must be unending in the fields of production and distribution do not recognize that the economic framework itself in which this experimentation is carried on can and must be modified for the benefit of the masses of workers. Sigrid Undset has given lucid expression to this conviction:

. . . In the democratic nations we had arrived at the conviction that it must be possible to solve also the problem of man's social relations according to the same fundamental principles which have made possible our conquests in the fields of science and technique. Of course one cannot simply place the sign of equation between the so-called exact sciences and the social sciences, which must always operate with incalculable elements; no matter how much the sciences can discover about people, ultimately man will continue to be incalculable. But insofar as one can on the whole speak of scientific social building, the democracies are alone about it.

No just system of any type was ever strengthened by attempting to gloss over or defend its indefensible consequences. Periodic depressions with widespread unemployment and suffering, and insufficient wages even in prosperous times for numbers of workers, have been among the consequences of the free-enterprise system as we have known it. Its most zealous defenders will not—or at least have not thus far been able to—bring themselves to an acknowledgment of these defects. There are undeniable disadvantages as well as undeniable advantages in the free-enterprise system. Until the former are given due weight with the latter its ablest exponents will accomplish little in the way of its rehabilitation and may well be one of the decisive factors in its destruction if the system is doomed to disappear.

## SHOWDOWN IN CIO

BENJAMIN L. MASSE

WHILE the executive council of the American Federation of Labor deliberated in Miami over the re-admission of John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers, two explosions on widely separated sectors threatened the precarious unity of the Congress of Industrial Organizations. In Detroit, incensed anti-Communist locals withdrew from the Wayne County Industrial Council and demanded an investigation of the Council's affairs. About the same time, right-wing CIO unions in New York City—textiles, automobiles and retail clerks—openly repudiated Sidney Hillman's alliance with the American Labor Party and went over to the rival Liberal Party. Observers thought that the long-expected showdown between the trade-unionists and the Stalinists in the CIO could not be postponed much longer.

It is not very difficult to assign the immediate reasons for these outbreaks. The Communist betrayal of the Montgomery Ward strike aroused bitter resentment among the Re-

tail Clerks and throughout the CIO. This was followed, a few weeks later, by an even more outrageous exhibition of Communist perfidy. When the May-Bailey "Work or Jail" bill was before the House, the Browderites not only refused to accept the official CIO policy, but actively conspired to sabotage it. While CIO President Philip Murray was telling Congressmen of his opposition to the bill, Left-wingers were sedulously visiting offices on Capitol Hill and assuring the Representatives of CIO approval. Even the *CIO News* helped to plunge the dagger in Mr. Murray's back. Len DeCaux, pro-Communist editor of the *News*, buried the May-Bailey story in an innocuous spot on page five of the January 29 issue.

The less obvious but more fundamental reason for the trouble in the CIO is the basic incompatibility between Communists and trade unionists in organized labor. The primary objective of the trade unionists is the welfare of their organization and the good of the workingman. The primary objective of CIO Communists is the welfare of Soviet Russia and the good of world Communism. If the Communists, therefore, along with their stooges and fellow travelers, are forced to choose between conflicting CIO and Soviet policies, they will choose the Soviet Union every time. Between Philip Murray and Earl Browder, their first allegiance is to Browder and, despite occasional sycophantic tribute to Mr. Murray's leadership, they would liquidate him tomorrow if the "party line" so decreed. Remember John L. Lewis, darling of the *Daily Worker* during the Hitler-Stalin honeymoon and now its *bête noire*?

The blow-up in New York, together with the recent de-emphasis of the national office in PAC affairs, has already had the effect of placing Sidney Hillman in a very difficult and embarrassing position. The President of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers now appears to have only one of two choices: he can elect to continue with the American Labor Party as it is presently constituted; or he can abandon it and work with the other right-wing CIO unions in New York, either through PAC or the new Liberal Party. In the latter event, the ALP would become, of course, the political arm of the Communist Political Association, and would be easily recognized as such.

It is reported around town that Mr. Hillman has decided not merely to stand by his alliance with the ALP, but to take the Amalgamated Workers into the New York City CIO Industrial Council as well. Hitherto the Amalgamated has refused to affiliate with the Council on the ground that it was Communist-dominated. Since the Council is still Communist-dominated, Mr. Hillman cannot ask his followers to affiliate now without stultifying himself. On the other hand, as the Communists will point out, he will stultify himself if he continues his relationship with the ALP and refuses to join the CIO Industrial Council. The Communist-dominated unions which compose the Industrial Council are the same ones which make up the ALP! If the Amalgamated can associate with Mike Quill, Joe Curran and Saul Mills in the ALP, why can't it associate with the same gentlemen in the Industrial Council?

This is a beautiful dilemma and it will take all Mr. Hillman's shrewdness to escape it. The simplest way, and the most honest one, to extricate himself from the mess would be to break cleanly with the ALP. By so doing, Mr. Hillman might lose some political "face" in New York. He would give his rival, President David Dubinsky of the International Ladies Garment Workers, a chance to say "I told you so." But he would at the same time gain stature in the country which would offset any temporary loss of prestige in New York. He would gain more; he would gain the

respect of men everywhere who value principle above expediency. If a showdown is in the cards between the Communists and the trade unionists in the CIO, Mr. Hillman owes it to his union and to the country to line up with the trade unionists.

## DIALOG MASS IN THE PARISH

JOHN P. DELANEY

"EVERYTHING you say about the Dialog Mass in your article in the January 13 issue of *AMERICA* is true," writes one obviously zealous pastor, "but I strongly suspect that your experience with the Dialog Mass is limited to schools and Retreats. Now, in the schools you have plenty of time to train the students and enlist their enthusiasm. On the week-end Retreats you're dealing with only a small group and a very select group, at that. Have you ever tried to introduce the Dialog Mass into a large parish? . . .

"I would sincerely like to get them all to take part in the Mass, and to enjoy taking part. Notice I say *all*, and I say *enjoy*. I don't want a Dialog Mass that will enlist only a few front rows of carefully trained people answering the prayers. After all, that merely boils down to the problem of training a few more altar boys. Nor would I want to impose a Dialog Mass on an unwilling congregation. I would not want them all reciting the Dialog Mass as a mere form, without realizing what they are doing and why. The Dialog Mass or any other manner of assisting at Mass is only a means towards getting the laity to take their rightful, active part in the Mass, of bringing them to a fuller appreciation and love of the Mass, to a truly joyful appreciation, and of course to a sacrificial living of the Mass in their daily lives.

"For all our crowded churches on Sundays, I am afraid (and you would be surprised to know how many priests agree with me) that our people are losing their hold on the Mass and, what is more terrifying, the Mass is losing its grip on the people. So many of our older people truly loved the Mass. They had no missals. They had no opportunity to study the Mass; but somehow or other they had come to a really deep knowledge of the meaning of the Mass. . . . I have no desire whatever to hurt the feelings of some grand old soul who has been reciting his rosary at Mass for the past fifty years, but I would like to shake the laziness out of our young married people, and out of young boys and girls just out of high school and college who sit empty-handed and, I'm afraid, empty-headed all through the Mass, even though they have been taught more about the Mass in their religion courses than some of us old-timers learned in Theology. But young and old, I would like to join them with me and the other priests of the parish in our parish Masses, so that we really would be a unity, priest and parish, offering the Holy Sacrifice together. I think the Dialog Mass could accomplish this . . . but how to go about it?"

### PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

The good pastor is right. I am not a parish priest. My experience with the Dialog Mass is precisely what he surmises, in schools and on small week-end Retreats. Yet those week-end Retreats have been to a universal variety of people—working men and working women, middle-aged and old people, husbands and wives together, and husbands and wives separately, college- and high-school students, even

grammar school pupils, young men and women with and without a Catholic educational background. All without exception pricked up their ears delightedly whenever the talks of the Retreat veered to the Mass. All of them without exception took to the Dialog Mass as to something they had been wanting for a long time without realizing it. Just in the vestibule of the Chapel, one gentleman stopped me once, and his voice was full of awe and enthusiasm and a certain irritation as he said: "Father I have been going to Mass for forty years, and this is the first time that I really felt I was taking part in it. Will you please tell me, Father, where I have been all my life?"

Because of this unvarying reaction of all these different people, I have become convinced that our people generally can be taught to want a fuller participation in the Holy Sacrifice. They can be taught the joy of joining actively with the priest in offering the Perfect Sacrifice. Some of them are even beginning to accuse us priests of holding back from them the greatest treasure we have.

There are difficulties? Surely, lots of them. The parish priest quoted above mentions only the greatest of them, the indifference and listlessness of a large majority of Mass-attenders. If that one can be overcome, perhaps the lesser ones can be handled in turn. The most successful novenas, Holy Hours and the like are those in which the people are encouraged to take part, to pray in unison, to sing. Radio programs, informal concerts, house parties are all taking advantage of the congregation's desire to participate. Should it be impossible to transfer this enthusiasm for participation to the Mass?

#### PLAN FOR TEACHING

Do you know the Mass I would begin with? The crowded 12:15 or 12:30 Mass. Some Sunday, instead of the regular sermon, I would decide to give a talk on *Dominus Vobiscum*. I might begin it something like this: "You know, if I passed any of you in the street and said Hello to you, I would expect you to Hello right back at me. I would consider you a rather surly parishioner if you ignored my greeting and passed on in stony silence. If I go into one of the classrooms tomorrow morning and say 'Good morning, boys,' I'll expect the boys to return my greeting. That's rather simple courtesy, isn't it? Well, do you know that Sunday after Sunday here in church I have been giving you the most beautiful greeting in the world and you have been completely ignoring me? This morning already I have greeted you three times and have had no answer in return. Just as I was finishing the prayers at the foot of the altar, I said *Dominus Vobiscum*, 'May God be with you.' At the end of the *Gloria*, I kissed the altar, received the embrace of Christ and turned to you with my arms outstretched to bring you all within the embrace of Christ as I said, *Dominus Vobiscum*. Just before I started to read the Gospel, I again greeted you with a *Dominus Vobiscum*. There is not one of you who does not know the answer, *Et cum spiritu tuo*. In a very strict translation, that means, 'And with thy spirit,' but that is merely good Latin for 'And with you too, Father.'

"Now, look: I am your priest and you are my people. Every one of you is dear to my heart, and I want a little place in the hearts of all of you. I am offering the Holy Sacrifice for all of you, and I need your prayers just as much as you need mine. This Mass is ours together. So, today, I'm going to suggest that you answer my greeting through the rest of the Mass. Try it now. *Dominus Vobiscum*. Ah, no! That was weak. It did not sound as though you were all answering it, or as though you meant it. Try it again, and

this time, mean it. Take the roof off the church. Now, that was good, very good."

Then, if I had time, I would go on to develop for them the splendid explanation of *Dominus Vobiscum* that Father Martindale gave in *The Mind of the Missal*. I would show how it is the prelude to every part of the Mass. It might take two or even three Sundays to explain it fully. For a few Sundays I would turn around at the beginning of the Mass to remind them of our greeting, and I feel certain that in a few weeks' time, because of our *Dominus Vobiscum*, they would be more on their toes, they would understand more clearly the divisions of the Mass, and—even this is important—they would begin to find the Mass going by more quickly.

After that? I would most probably devote a Sunday sermon to the *Kyrie Eleison*. I would explain first the very simple, the very big meaning of the words—"Lord have mercy on us." There would be stress on the need we all have of prayer, of one another's prayer. I would try to tie it up with the *Confiteor* at the foot of the altar, all of us acknowledging our sinfulness. I would try to show how we are all one in guilt, all one in our desire not to remain long in guilt. *Kyrie Eleison* we should all be saying together, Lord have mercy on us, on all here present, on our families and friends, on the whole parish, on the sick and the dying and the sinful, on all our service men and women all over the world, on the Pope and all Bishops and priests, on all pagans and unbelievers, on our country, on our enemies, on all the world.

After the *Kyrie* I might give them the *Amen*s of the Mass. That might take a few sermons, to explain the meaning of *Oremus*, "Let us pray," and the priest praying aloud for them, to explain the position of the priest's hands as he prays (you can tie that up nicely with Moses praying on the mountain top, praying successfully only as long as his arms were outstretched, finally calling on two of his friends to *bold up* his arms while he prayed. The people's attentiveness, their eagerness to answer *Amen* is their way of *bolding up* the arms of the priest, of *supporting* him while he prays). It would take some time to explain the beauty of *Per Christum Dominum Nostrum*, all our united prayers going up to God not in their naked unworthiness, but as the prayers of the Church through the lips of Christ, through Christ hanging on the Cross, to be presented to God, purified, as His own prayers, by Christ, Who is our Eternal Priest.

Until the whole congregation could get around to using a missal, I would have to give them samples of what we are praying for in the Collect and Secret and Postcommunion. There could be a long explanation of the *Amen* at the end of the Secret that closes the Offertory prayers, of the big *Amen* of the Mass at the end of the Canon (I would take chalice and host into the pulpit to show them the truly inspiring gesture of offering that is the Little Elevation at the end of the Canon) and the *Amen* that is their "So be it," to the priest's blessing at the end of the Mass. And again I would insist that they raise the very roof with their combined *Amen*.

#### SUNDAY AFTER SUNDAY

So I would go on Sunday after Sunday at the 12:15 Mass. If I were patient enough and good-humored and friendly, I feel sure that I could succeed in bringing my people to an ever fuller sharing in every part of the Mass. I would be aiming at a complete Dialog Mass. More than that, I would be trying so hard to explain the full meaning of the Mass that before long the twelve-fifteeners would begin to look

uncomfortably at the empty Communion rail, would begin to realize in a practical way that their Mass should include not only the offering to God of Christ and themselves, but also the receiving of Christ from the hands of God. If at the end of the year I should succeed, how much longer would the Mass be taking? Probably five minutes, but the participation of the people would actually make it seem much shorter to them. Of course, for a while, as we recited more and more of the Mass, I would need the help of another priest, but I refuse to believe that our priests are ungenerous, that they will not give gladly of time and service to help the people of the parish thoroughly to learn and love the Mass.

#### ENLISTING OTHER AID

There is probably one more thing I would do. I would ask the priest in charge of the Holy Name Society and the Rosary Society and the Sodality and the Saint Vincent de Paul to spend many meetings training these groups meticulously in the Mass and in the Dialog Mass. I would enlist the Nuns in the school to train the children either in the full Dialog Mass or in the very liturgical adaptation of the prayers of the Mass that Monsignor Belford presents in his *Prayer Book for Sunday Schools*, and which he himself has been using for many a year at his own children's Mass. In a year's time, then, I would hope to see a gratifying participation of the laity at three Sunday Masses, the children's, the eight-o'clock and the 12:15.

Naïve? Perhaps, but parish priests have done it, not in this way, but in more practical ways of their own. This bungling effort of mine may arouse them to tell us exactly how they have done it. Anyhow, this is not naïve, this frightening thing: that our people must learn the Mass, love the Mass, live the Mass—or perish. We are losing more of our people than we care to admit. We shall lose still many more unless we unite them to Christ with bonds of steel; and those bonds are their active participation in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.

## SCIENCE NOTES

SIR ARTHUR STANLEY EDDINGTON, who died on November 22, 1944, was not only an entertaining popularizer of abstruse scientific subjects, but also an astronomer of the first rank. Eddington did not attain his eminence in the field of astronomy by long hours spent in telescopic search of the starry heavens, for his own observational contributions were rare during the 38 years covered by his published researches. Rather, he was outstanding in interpretation of the scientific facts discovered by others. His instruments were a keen physical intuition, bold imagination and great technical powers of mathematical analysis. His penetrating mind readily comprehended and analyzed observational data, synthesized known facts into brilliant theories and thus pointed out the route for crucial explorations in the fields of physics, astrophysics, astronomy and cosmogony. He was an astronomer's astronomer, a stimulating leader whom others were content to follow. For the last thirty years Eddington was Director of the Observatory at Cambridge, England, and for the last six years he acted as President of the International Astronomical Union.

Six months before his death Eddington submitted to the Royal Astronomical Society what was probably his last scientific paper, entitled "The Recession-Constant of the Galaxies," but the published copies reached this country only after his death. This is the final paper of a 25-year

series that studied the relation between laboratory data on the constants of atomic physics and astronomical data on the size of the universe. Eddington was led to make three extraordinary conclusions, which are presented here as indicative of modern ideas in astronomy, even though we must suspend judgment on them until qualified experts can evaluate them and extend their observational basis.

Eddington's conclusions cannot be understood without a clear idea of astronomical distances. In spite of the fact that light travels over 11 million miles in a single minute, the measuring of the incredibly vast distances of the galaxies—even in units of a *light-year*—would be like reckoning transcontinental distances in inches instead of in miles. Hence, astronomers long ago invented the term "parsec" corresponding to about 3.25 light-years, or 206,265 times the distance from the earth to the sun. As the explorers of the galaxies continued to make million-light-year strides out into space, a still larger unit of distance became necessary, the "megaparsec," or a million parsecs, equivalent to 19 quintillion miles.

It is a widely known fact that the galaxies appear to recede from our own Milky Way Galaxy and from each other. Indeed, the whole universe seems to be expanding at such a rate that its radius will double every 10 or 20 million centuries. The first of Eddington's conclusions is that the *present* radius of our ever expanding universe lies between 1,000 and 2,500 megaparsecs; the most probable value is 1,500 megaparsecs, or nearly five billion light-years. Contrast that with Dr. Harlow Shapley's recent estimate that the faintest images on long-exposure photographs, taken with the most powerful telescopes and on the most sensitive plates, picture galaxies by light which left the galaxies much less than two billion years ago! Actually, our deepest probes into space have reached out to only one-third of the radius of the Eddington universe.

The second conclusion concerns the mass and total number of the galaxies. The star most familiar to us, our sun, has a mass 332,000 times that of the earth. The *average* galaxy is a vast aggregation of stars that has a mass of 130 billion suns. (This average figure is definitely exceeded by the Milk Way Galaxy in which our sun is located eccentrically, at a distance of 10,000 parsecs from the galactic center.) Now Eddington says that, since the mass of the entire universe is fairly well determined from theoretical discussions of the observed recessional velocities of the galaxies, the total number of galaxies can be calculated to be not less than 70 billion and probably add up to as many as 300 billion.

The third conclusion refers to the time-scale of the universe. Once the rate of expansion of the universe and its present size have been determined, it is possible to compute the radius of the universe at any time in the past. Eddington calculates the time taken by the universe to reach its present dimensions, and says that the expansion "can be traced back for, say, 30,000 million years without straining credulity."

But neither that great amount of time, nor even a period of 90,000 million years, is sufficient to allow for both the expansion of the universe and the original formation of those condensations in primordial matter from which the separate galaxies were finally to emerge. It is no wonder, then, that as long ago as 1931 Eddington himself confessed that "the theory of the expanding universe is in some respects so preposterous that we naturally hesitate to commit ourselves to it. It contains elements apparently so incredible that I feel almost an indignation that anyone should believe in it—except myself."

WALTER J. MILLER, S.J.

## YALTA CONFERENCE

WHEN the Black Sea's Yalta was chosen for the meeting of Messrs. Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin, nobody would expect the conference to develop in any way notably to the disadvantage of the Soviet Union. So there is no great element of surprise in our impressions of this historic event, even though we had hoped against hope that Poland's integrity would have been more fully respected. We even hoped that in this eleventh hour the Baltic Republics might yet be allowed to take their rightful place among the democratic and peace-loving nations of the world.

But we can still feel some satisfaction: first, that certain things were not worse in their outcome to present date; and second, that *possibilities* for a much greater triumph of justice are not excluded. How far these possibilities will be realized depends upon the spirit in which the Yalta agreements are carried out. In the light of the past few years we look to what nations do, rather than to what they say.

Too much was left unsaid for the communiqué to be satisfactory regarding eastern Europe. What of Hungary, for instance? And Bulgaria? And is the Soviet blackout of the Balkans going to be lifted?

More was agreed to, doubtless, than appears in the published statement. Some of the agreements will presumably have to remain secret for reasons of security. But the American people have the right to know what can safely be revealed. It would be the part of wisdom for the President to make a full report to the people as soon as may be after his return to this country.

## BIG THREE AND THE WAR

ON HIS RETURN from the Crimea Conference, Mr. James F. Byrnes, the Director of War Mobilization and Reconversion, warned us that the war in Europe is far from over. However much we need to be cautioned against over-optimism, it is not only a matter for hope, but also a reasonable and heartening likelihood that the decisions of the Big Three Yalta meeting will result, as was forecast in their official statement, "in shortening the war."

This likelihood is strengthened by precedent; after the Teheran meeting, military successes began to roll up impressively for the United Nations, and every meeting has marked a further step in Germany's defeat. This last conference furnishes us with even greater ground for hope, for it was the first time that American and English top military men met the Russian General Staff, and their discussions have resulted "in closer coordination of the military effort of the three Allies than ever before."

Germany, or rather, Nazidom, then, is doomed. With "the blows to be launched by our armies and air forces into the heart of Germany from the east, west, north and south . . . agreed and planned in detail," it is only a matter of time—and we hope not so long as Mr. Byrnes warns—before the curtain falls on war in the West.

But what of the East? There was no mention of Japan in the known accounts of the Conference. The date of the opening of the United Nations Security Conference in San Francisco—April 25—has given rise to rumors and hopes that Russia will then declare war on Japan, for on the preceding day her five-year neutrality pact with Japan will have expired.

It seems hardly likely that Russia will come to that April conference after having renewed, the very day before, friendship with the treacherous enemy of two of her Allies.

It would certainly make for an atmosphere of suspicion. More than that, it would certainly seem a violation of the spirit, if not the letter, of the Atlantic Charter, happily revived in the Crimea Conference and now, for a second time, explicitly adopted by the Russians themselves. For that Charter commits its adherents to fight not merely for themselves and their land alone; it binds them to crush tyranny and oppression wherever it is found.

Great Britain has pledged herself to fight with the United States in the war against Japan. Russia's determination, manifest as soon as is legally possible, to do the same, would immeasurably strengthen the military unity now more than ever apparent in the West. It would solidify, too, the unity in political matters that will be so sorely needed if we are to realize the noble and Christian ideal of "one world."

## SAN FRANCISCO

"WARDER OF TWO CONTINENTS," as Bret Harte hailed it, San Francisco was chosen by the Yalta conferees as the site for the full-dress United Nations Conference to make plans for the "earliest practicable establishment" of a general international organization to maintain peace and security. The task of the forty United Nations will be to complete the work begun by the Big Three at Dumbarton Oaks. For the first time, the smaller nations will have a chance to make their views felt.

The Dumbarton Oaks conversations and the Crimea Conference were, frankly, a caucus of the Big Three to determine whether the super-Powers could each find reasons in terms of its national self-interest to collaborate with each other and with a general world organization. One of the great problems faced was that of voting procedure. Russia, it was said, wanted each major Power to retain a veto even in cases where its own aggression was in question. This in effect would make any of the five permanent members of the Security Council judge in its own case, a feature that could well undermine the confidence of the world in the democracy of the organization. The Crimea Conference, we are told, "has been able to resolve this difficulty." It now appears, according to unofficial reports, that the United States, Great Britain, the Soviet Union, France and China will have a veto only in cases involving the use of sanctions. Cases not involving punitive action, whether in relation to the big Powers or the small ones, will require only a simple majority of the eleven-nation Security Council.

If the work of the Big Three at Dumbarton Oaks and at Yalta has the aspect of a caucus, this should not be regarded as wholly iniquitous. Those who fear that this nation may be forced into unwelcome commitments at some future date should be glad that among themselves the major Powers see no dangerous threat to their own security through the world organization. It is rather happily clear that the great Powers have everything to gain and nothing to lose by sponsoring the world organization.

But the power and security considerations of the great nations are no adequate foundations for lasting world order. The other countries must now complete and fill in the great gaps left by Dumbarton Oaks. There is much that the forty nations can and must accomplish when they convene at San Francisco on April 25, if the charter as a whole is to be acceptable to the United States and to world opinion. With an enviable record of sound counsel, the

small nations are in a happy position to restore those principles of international morality which collapsed in the pre-war crises. We look to the small nations to bespeak the high call of justice over force, to raise international law again to its lost dignity, to stand out for the protection of the weak against the wilful giant. Above all, we count on the smaller nations to define for us in attractive terms the lofty aims which should inspire the world community of nations.

Catholics the world over will pray with the Holy Father for the success of this effort, gladly expressing their pleasure and forming with him "the hope that its actual achievement may really correspond in the largest possible measure to the nobility of its end, which is the maintenance of tranquillity in the world for the benefit of all."

## GERMANY

WITH REGARD to the treatment of Germany after its final defeat and unconditional surrender, the statement (of the Big Three) makes a clear distinction between the German militarists, the Nazi Party and the German people. The first two are to be destroyed absolutely, and the statement is very definite in listing the specific means to be used to attain this end. To the German people hope is held out for "a decent life" and "a place for them in the comity of nations" after Nazism and militarism have been extirpated.

In declaring "our inflexible purpose to destroy German militarism" the statement will meet with universal approval. Long before the advent of Nazism the Junkers had been a perpetual menace to the peace of Europe and the world. They had "repeatedly contrived the resurgence of German militarism." If they were allowed to survive they would begin again, as they did after their defeat in World War I, to plan for the next war.

As for the destruction of Nazism, it is reasonable to believe that even the best elements of the German people will find some consolation for the bitterness of defeat in the realization that by it they will be emancipated from the ugliest and most intensely hated political regime in the history of the world. There were always groups in the German population that opposed it. Many who disapproved submitted because they were helpless to resist. And even those who were exhilarated by its flattering philosophy of the "Master Race" and its brilliant early victories must be thoroughly disillusioned by this time. For that reason we can believe that they will share to some extent the feelings with which the rest of the world will hail the declared purpose of the United Nations "to wipe out the Nazi party, Nazi laws, organizations and institutions, remove all Nazi and militarist influences from public office and from the cultural and economic life of the German people."

The fate of the German people as distinguished from the Militarists and the Nazis will not be fully known until the surrender terms are published after the final defeat. From what the statement does declare, however, it is clear that they have been granted a very slender hope. For a time they will have to endure the humiliation of Allied control and a staggering burden of reparations exacted by a Russian-dominated commission sitting in Moscow. We can only hope that the other members of that commission will be able to counteract Russian greed and vindictiveness sufficiently to prevent them from imposing on Germany an out-and-out revenge peace.

NO ADROITNESS of phrasing can conceal the fact that the Polish settlement is distinctly a Stalin victory. The "Curzon" line—or the Hitler-Stalin line of 1939—is to remain substantially Poland's eastern frontier. If the United States and Britain cannot do anything about this, still there is no need to camouflage the realities.

The Atlantic Charter, appealed to by the signatories of the Yalta communique, disavows "territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned." There is not the slightest evidence that anyone tried to find out the wishes of the millions of people transferred by this settlement from Poland to Russia. Marshal Stalin said that they must become Russians; and that was that.

It may be worth while to recall a few highlights in the Marshal's record. On September 28, 1939, his government concluded an agreement with Germany, partitioning Poland, and providing for "the disintegration of the Polish State." On July 30, 1941, his government concluded an agreement with Poland, abrogating the treaty with Germany and restoring to Polish sovereignty the areas taken by Russia in 1939. On January 1, 1942, his government became a signatory—along with Poland—to the Declaration by the United Nations, which explicitly subscribes to the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

Poland's cause had, perforce, to be argued by the United States and Britain. Stalin's armies stood on Polish soil; Stalin had the possession which is nine points of the law. The only nations equal in bargaining power to Russia were Britain and ourselves.

Stalin drives a hard bargain; and this time he held very strong cards. There is simply no practicable means of forcing him to move his armies off Polish soil if he does not want to. A threat to break up the Grand Alliance would only be suicide; and Stalin knew it, and Roosevelt and Churchill knew it. Roosevelt and Churchill might "insist" upon Stalin's giving up the territory east of the Curzon line; but they knew that their insistence could not ultimately be backed up by force. Even Lend-lease could not be used effectively as a bargaining weapon; for we cannot separate the Russian part of the war from our own. We should only be jeopardizing the Allied victory—and the fate of Poland—by any measures which would weaken the Russian war effort.

Under the circumstances, it is arguable that Roosevelt and Churchill got as much as could be expected; perhaps more than many friends of Poland expected. But, to repeat, let us not call it a just settlement; let us not think that the treatment that Poland has received in this war has been anything less than shameful.

There is evidence that some of the Poles, under the leadership of M. Mikolajczyk, intend to make the best of a bad job. How many they are, or how much support M. Mikolajczyk will receive in his homeland, remains to be seen. Their task is no enviable one; the choice of the lesser of two evils is never easy and never popular.

The Polish settlement is, in all probability, only one of many such that will come from this war. The small Baltic republics seem to have been definitely sacrificed. As Pope Pius XII said in his Christmas address, we cannot expect much wisdom when men's passions are at white heat. If there is to be any hope in the postwar world for Poland and all such states, it must lie in the establishment of the international organization, through which the nations may feel their way to the establishment of a true international law.

# LITERATURE AND ART

## CATHOLIC ART'S PROBLEM

THOMAS L. O'BRIEN

IN THE JANUARY 27 issue of *AMERICA* Father Gardiner did an admirable job of placing Catholic "best sellers" in their proper place at the table of art—lower down. In his sure rendering of a difficult score, however, Fr. Gardiner, perhaps unconsciously, suppressed a problem far more difficult than that of surveying individual books. It is this: Is it possible for born-and-bred Catholics to produce great art, literary or otherwise?

At first blush that seems sacrilegious. For isn't it true that the Catholic Church has been the wellspring of the greatest art? Is not what Father Gardiner said about Catholic life and art a truism: "The whole Catholic concept of life rises gloriously to the aspiration after perfection . . . religious art and architecture are reminded constantly that the second-rate, the imitative, is not worthy of God's service"? Isn't it—a truism?

Close beneath the surface of Father Gardiner's statement lies the conclusion: Catholics *should* be the creators of the most perfect art since they have the most beautiful subjects to work with.

I very much fear that the suppressed conclusion expresses a platitude, a state of mind which has not been critically examined.

As a matter of fact, the Catholic "art exhibit" of the past five centuries is poor indeed. We can except a few French and Spanish dramatists, and some Catholic lyricists. Beyond these exceptions, by far the greatest part of Catholic art has been a source of embarrassment rather than of complacency.

Why? Isn't it true that within Catholic life resides beauty more breath-taking than any in the world? Why, therefore, should our art, particularly our literary art, be of such poor stuff?

The problem can be posed another way: is there anything native to Catholic life which makes it impossible to gain the necessary equipment for great art? Or again: why is it that the chief Catholic writers of the past century have nearly all been converts? That question was asked (and an ominous answer suggested) by one of those converts, the French writer of the last century, Huysmans:

It looks as if the only gifted men to be found amongst Catholics . . . are converts. Lacordaire, Montalembert, de Falloux, de Broglie, Hello, Coppeé, Drumont, Brunetière have all come from the university, not from the clerical schools. . . .

Talent needs fresh air in order to unfold. It is unavoidably necessary to study the profane writers, who alone possess a style. . . . One must have lived to be able to write. Talent, then, is a fruit of sin? I will strive not to believe it.

That answer, that sin is the price to be paid for literary preeminence, has some semblance of truth. Certainly, a realization of the sinfulness of human kind is necessary as a prolog to the recital of its beauties. But to say that the ability to create beauty is dependent on sin is the same as saying that beauty, a complete affirmation, depends on sin, a complete negation. There must be some other solution. We shall see.

There are two main contributing causes for the Catholic

weakness in art at the present time. The first is the more superficial and immediate cause—the self-consciousness which makes native-born Catholics uneasy unless they continue to assure their public that they are Catholic. And thus, as soon as they begin to vindicate their Catholicism, they cease to be artists and become apologists.

The second cause of this weakness is much more difficult to highlight. The following example is designed to clarify the point.

The world is at war. Why? Because the modern political mind is limited to the national state. That is, the independence, the importance, of the national state has been so great in modern thinking that it has blocked out the possibility of coordinating that independent state within the larger unity of an international government. The national state is *independent* in relation to all that it legitimately includes. But at the same time it is *dependent* in relation to all that includes the national state; to wit, within the realm of international government. The present war is being fought because our modern minds don't know how to safeguard the individual independence of national governments and still acknowledge their dependence on a larger, more inclusive society.

In much the same way Catholic artists are unable to coordinate the *relatively* independent sphere of art with the *absolutely* independent sphere of living. They fail to coordinate the *work of art* as the end to be achieved in the artistic sphere, with *God*, the end to be reached in the sphere of living.

The first difficulty, self-consciousness, could be immeasurably reduced, given an educated Catholic reading public; educated as Catholics, that is, not Catholics who are educated. For Catholic education would give them the power to see, the way God sees, the ultimate beauty in the *tapestry* of human affairs, woven as it is of white, and *grey*, and black. Then, strengthened with this education, the Catholic reading public would not be so allergic to misunderstanding and unnecessary scandal. Thus, the necessity of "*appearing Catholic*" would not so constantly be breathing over the shoulder of the Catholic writer at work.

The second, more fundamental, cause is harder to examine. The artist must, by the very nature of the task he has chosen to perform, dedicate himself completely to the work at hand. He must focus the whole power of his insight on the vision he is using; he must not shrink from any part of the subject he is viewing; he must subject all that is in him to the perfection of the work of art. But can a human do this without sinning, since sin is nothing else than turning, more or less completely, from one's final end, God, to some limited, finite end? Hence, it would seem Huysmans was right: the price of talent is sin.

But that is true only in a deistic universe, a universe in which there remains no activity of God, a universe which God, having once created, leaves to the disappointing perfection of its own laws.

The Catholic, on the other hand, if he really be a Catholic, must view the universe sacramentally. That is to say, he must realize that the visible things lead to the invisible. He must see that God created the universe and conserves it. He must understand that conservation means cooperation. Hence, he must understand that God, while remaining perfectly transcendent and independent of His creatures, is actively operating in, working for, upholding the universe

about him. And if the Catholic is enough of an artist, his vision will be so sensitively piercing that it will reveal to him an unending vision of "Emmanuel," God with us, in the reality surrounding him.

But more than that: Jesus Christ, in redeeming mankind, redeemed in a different way the universe surrounding mankind. Christ the Divine walked the earth, breathed the air, warmed Himself in the sun, enjoyed the flowers, spoke to sinners, caressed the children, thrilled at the birdsong. And through His contact with this universal reality He sanctified it, gave it back to us a thing of beauty, to be used by us for the glory of God.

And as a symbol of this divine *imprimatur*, God has seen fit to take bread and wine, the products of land, sea and air, and convert them into His own Body and Blood. Thus, He places the last full measure of approval on created nature.

Hence it is that a Catholic artist, truly Catholic, can dedicate himself completely to the work at hand without at the same time "un-dedicating" himself from God. For the work belongs to God, is the image of God, however faint. Furthermore, the artist is imitating God in the most intimate way naturally possible to man, in his artistic creative act.

And that is one reason why converts to Catholicism are today overwhelmingly the representatives of Catholic art. For as a dowry, almost as a bonus accompanying the sacrifice of their submission, nearly every one has received a vision into the purity and depth of Catholic dogma and life which lays open to them this truth—the truth of the "sacramental universe." One of them expresses it this way in a letter:

... being a convert has given me an experience denied to the average Catholic . . . the ability to see the whole magnificent pattern of the Church from the outside.

Hence it is, too, that modern native Catholics cannot create great Catholic art; for them there is an unbridgable cleavage between the morality which they too frequently think is Catholicism, and the "unmorality" of complete dedication to an intermediate end.

Therefore, the blame for the poor stuff that is Catholic art cannot be laid ultimately at the feet of Catholic artists; but rather at the feet of Catholic educators, at the feet of us who have failed to show the glowing beauty of the reality of Catholic truth, as it contains "all things in Him Who gives me strength."

## DESERTERS

Where drifts had lingered, loath to go,  
This windless dawn reveals the snow  
Vanished beyond a track or trace,  
Clean-swept from earth's astonished face.

Winter, alone and shrunken small  
Like a bewildered General  
With staff and armies taken flight,  
Vanished, deserted, in the night,  
Storms across bone-bald, leafless land  
Shouting and calling back his band.

Singly he holds his empty hill  
Forsaken and alone until  
Viewing the ever barren track  
With never one come straying back,  
He shouts a curse for their coward hearts  
And, swearing he'll not depart, departs. . . .

ETHEL BARNETT DE VITO

## BOOKS

### HUMOR AND HEART-BREAK

POOR CHILD. By Anne Parrish. Harper and Bros. \$2.50  
THE THURBER CARNIVAL. Text and Pictures by James Thurber. Harper and Bros. \$2.75

AT FIRST BLUSH, a discussion of these two books together may seem a *marriage de convenance*. It will seem so, however, only to those who are of the strange impression that a humorist cannot think or feel very deeply, or that one who writes of the psychological problems of youth must be as devoid of humor as Freud. In fact, I think (and hope) that I am doing a good turn for James Thurber, for I imagine that he rather resents, in a mild way, the tag "humorist," that is all too lightly pinned on him by the critics, since it is generally taken to mean a sort of Sales-Hope-Lahr mulligan stew.

Mr. Thurber is a "humorist" of another stripe: he has the mellowness and mordancy of Cervantes, wryly flavored with a generous dash of the macabre quality of Poe. Life and people are not funny to him; they are tragic in small ways, pathetic, ironical, rather lovably perverse and endlessly interesting. The dumpy little men of his cartoons and the characters in his stories are persistently persecuted, by women, by strange animals, often by darker and more morbid mental fears and doubts. In other words, he is a humorist, not because he is full of persiflage and wisecrack, but because he knows, rather ruefully and in understated miniature, that the stakes of life are high, ambition and ideals the goal, and the actual achievement often, too often, sadly and poignantly and ludicrously inadequate.

This is not to say that many of the items in this recent collection are not just plain funny. But the depth and meaning of Thurber go far beyond that. He is humorous because he knows the problem of evil, because he sees certainly the human, if not the Divine, comedy. He indicates no solution for the problems that be-devil his little heroes, but he knows that the problem exists, and he knows the complex and mazed turnings it may take, what with all the vagaries of human nature.

This element of Thurber is apparent in the present collection. It contains many of his older pieces and a few that are new. The unforgettable *Private Life of Walter Mitty* is here; there are new parables and two "poems" treated to a *reductio ad absurdum* by his drawings. It is Thurber at his best and that best is very good, indeed—at least, for those who like the slightly astringent taste of persimmons.

*Poor Child* has some of the same qualities. It has definitely and masterfully a somber, hinting-at-darker-evil cast of atmosphere and expression. It is briefly the story of little Martin Doyle, an orphan taken in by a kind, if thoughtless, lady at her country estate. There had been a sordid tragedy in his young life; it is hinted at as a brooding horror in his thoughts, but we learn what it actually was only toward the end of the book. Martin lives in his foster home in constant terror that they "will not want him"; his desire to please, to make himself indispensable, leads him to silly, boisterous, and even definitely evil deeds, but underneath is the passionate yearning of a little boy, old before his time through no fault of his own, for love and protection. The book, whether the author so intended it or not, is a sober and moving reminder that millions of children throughout the world are going through a like inarticulate agony in foster homes or no homes at all—thanks to war.

Martin's story, however, is not all this darker threatening evil. It is sunny and gay, at times, with childish pranks and the bright world of the imagination. It is quietly domestic with the character of Anna, who proves the little boy's savior at the end. And the end, with Martin running madly down the road after the bus that takes Anna back to her home that will be his, is a scene to be remembered.

Miss Parrish's prose is clean and functional as a suspension-bridge; it is also quite imaginatively beautiful, at times. Her deftness in unraveling the story, the vividness of the characterization of Martin (and the others, too), all make this a really first-rate job. It is not an exaggeration to say that it compares, on almost equal terms, with the famous

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**Turn of the Screw.** It ends, however, without the development of the story or of the character being wrenched askew for the purpose, hopefully and with all the chords resolved.

HAROLD C. GARDINER

## PHILOSOPHY OF AMERICANS?

**THE IDEA OF PROGRESS IN AMERICA, 1815-1860.** By Arthur Alphonse Ekirch, Jr. Columbia University Press. \$3.50

**THE IDEA OF PROGRESS** in America, in the years between the battles of New Orleans and Fort Sumter, enjoys the classical name given to it by James Truslow Adams in his famous chapter on "The American Dream." Over the mountains and prairies an aura of soft gold attracted the men and women who were moving to the West. They found the promise fulfilled in a veritable paradise of opportunity. Hence it fell out that everywhere in the land, from the recently cleared fields of the Great Plains to the awesome halls of the national capital, men thought and spoke of the great things that were to come. An optimism and a sense of success generated that pervasive confidence and boastfulness that marked the typical American of the day.

Meantime the petty philosophers and recently graduated collegians spoke eloquently of the theory of the thing. They learned their lines in Europe where some of them went to "improve their education." Back home again, they delivered their commencement orations and senatorial panegyrics of Progress, spelled with a capital. How much of their idea derived from critical study of philosophy would seem to be a question worth answering, and the jacket of the volume under review appears to offer such a contribution.

Unhappily this is not the case. It has long been felt that a doctoral dissertation should essay the same purpose as a worthwhile book, to give the reader something significant in the material under discussion. This book is encyclopedic, and there it stops. Its bibliography lists many of the folk who sang of progress. For a conclusion, its final sentence runs thus: "Confining ourselves to the period covered by this analysis, we may safely conclude that the idea of progress was the most popular American philosophy, thoroughly congenial to the ideas and interests of the age."

To which it might be subsumed: "But you have not proved that point. For you establish no comparative study to determine which was the most popular American philosophy." That Progress, or the future blessings, or the manifest destiny, or the limitless resources of the country was a popular subject for sermonizing is undoubtedly true. But that was known long ago and hardly seems to need a champion now.

The author opens up an idea on his first page that might properly form the ground for a valuable study. Quoting J. B. Bury he writes: "belief in it [progress] is an act of faith." Just how this popular faith became a substitute for Divine Faith, to what extent it thus substituted, and what were the products of this substitution, are all matters that profoundly interest thousands of thinkers in this America of ours. Yet that line would take the research man into a field from which he fought shy, a fact evidenced by his exclusion of Christopher Dawson in his notes and bibliography.

W. EUGENE SHIELS

## AMAZING NEGRO LIBERATOR

**CITIZEN TOUSSAINT.** By Ralph Korngold. Little, Brown and Co. \$3

**THIS BIOGRAPHY** of the man whom Wendell Phillips called "the soldier, the statesman, the martyr," is a timely contribution to a timeless subject. Mr. Korngold's scholarly yet thoroughly readable volume is a reminder to a world from which Fascist ideas are less easily eradicated than Fascist governments, that a black skin may sometimes cover a great mind and an even greater heart. Frenchmen, Englishmen, Americans and Haitians have told the story before, but rarely if ever has Toussaint inspired a more talented biographer. Perhaps the finest tribute that can be paid the

author is that his account is as interesting and as dramatic as Toussaint's amazing career.

In fifty fascinating pages, Part I takes us from the discovery of the island by Columbus through Oge's ill-fated rebellion. Sociological as well as historical, these pages introduce us to the life of France's wealthiest colony. One paragraph especially should be remembered as we read of Toussaint's humanity and of Dessaline's sanguinary vengeance. Listing the "well authenticated 'extraordinary' punishments" meted out to slaves in San Domingo, Mr. Korngold mentions:

... throwing the slave alive into a flaming furnace; suspending him by arms and legs over a slow fire; burying alive; burying up to the neck and smearing head and face with burnt sugar, to attract flies and other insects; tying into a bag and drowning; rubbing the body with sugar and pouring spoonfuls of ants into all the bodily cavities; stuffing into a barrel into which nails had been driven and rolling down a mountainside; ladling boiling sugar over the victim's shaven head; forcing him to eat human excrements; hanging by the ears, or with head down, etc.

Part II tells how a slave, Toussaint, at forty-eight or thereabouts, leads the insurrection, after saving the life of his master's wife. Pursuing his goal of general emancipation, he joins the Spaniards, and then the French, when the latter abolish slavery. He chases the English from San Domingo, and succeeds in uniting the French and Spanish colonies on the island. At the same time, he defeats the mulatto forces under Rigaud, and begins an administration marked by justice, industry and statesmanship. The story of that administration is told in Part II. Part IV describes "Toussaint's Fall and Death."

Throughout the volume, Toussaint seems to be motivated by one supreme ambition: to make his country independent. He understands only too well that this cannot be realized without shrewd diplomacy as well as bloodshed, but he is determined to reduce that bloodshed to a minimum. He pardons whites and mulattoes who have taken up arms against him; he protects British and French prisoners, though he knows that their commanders have ordered them to take no blacks alive; he punishes subordinates who disobey his orders and massacre innocent or not so innocent victims. A devout Catholic, a good (though perhaps not always a faithful) husband, a loving father, a loyal friend, he emerges from Mr. Korngold's pages as soldier, statesman, martyr and man.

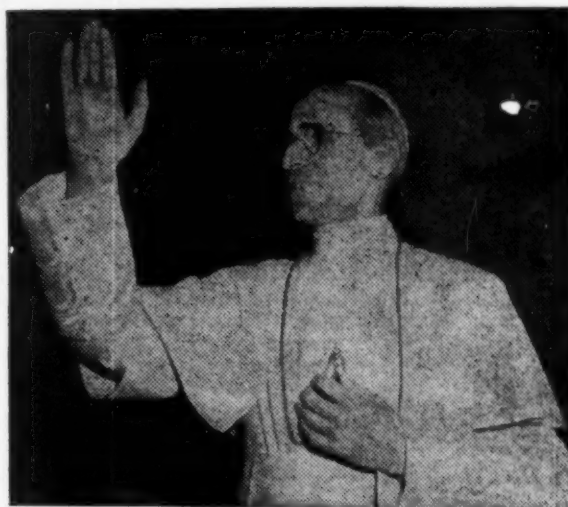
Writing this book review in the country which Toussaint led to the very threshold of independence, I have been wondering how contemporary Haitians would react to the volume. The historians might object to Mr. Korngold's explanation of the name "Louverture"—Toussaint was too sincere a Catholic to borrow a name from Vodun. The portrayal of Dessalines and especially that of Christophe would certainly arouse discussion. M. Louis Mercier, generally recognized as the foremost authority on Christophe and the Citadelle, would surely challenge the statement that King Henry had been a slave (p. 250). And General Nemours would ask how Baille, Toussaint's first jailer at Joux, could possibly be considered "indulgent." Others might regret that Mr. Korngold, despite the surprising scope of his researches, did not include some of the more recent Haitian historians in his bibliography.

But the general opinion would be one of deep admiration and gratitude. They would thank Mr. Korngold for his sympathetic biography, for not attributing Haitian military successes over Napoleon's expeditionary forces exclusively to yellow fever, and for reminding our own country of its debt to Toussaint Louverture.

MERCER COOK

UNTIL THEY EAT STONES. By Russell Brines. J. B. Lippincott and Co. \$3.

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appear in its pages; only by the author's deadly seriousness are we brought to realize the grim determination and deadly seriousness of our foe. The intention of our enemies is revealed in the preparations which they have made, in the attention they have given to every minutest detail of social, economic and military life, both their own and that of the conquered peoples.

Much of the book is given to a study of the political aspects of the Oriental milieu. The peculiar differences between Oriental and Occidental ways of thinking and governing are brought into focus. Times without number we are reminded of the Japanese necessity to "save face." This, we learn, is no silly device to be caricatured by us, but a national characteristic with which we must reckon.

The account of the internment at Santo Tomás is classic in its simplicity. A reader keyed to melodrama might miss the significance of the poignant recital of loneliness, boredom, malnutrition. Throughout the book, and notably in a chapter entitled "Interned But Not Interred," the author reveals a source of secret strength, a weapon peculiarly American, namely, a sense of humor. The book ends on a note of appeal and warning—of appeal not to be deceived by appearances, nor by anything like a negotiated peace—of warning that this is total war to be won only by total participation, that victory will not be ours "until they eat stones."

JOHN J. CONRON

FLAME IN THE WILDERNESS. LIFE AND LETTERS OF MOTHER ANGELA GILLESPIE, C.S.C. By Anna Shannon McAllister. With a Foreword by the Most Reverend John T. McNicholas. Saint Anthony Guild Press. \$3.50

THIS COMPETENT BIOGRAPHY is the third from Mrs. McAllister's pen, all three touching on our national life in its upper levels at a time when Catholics were in a very obscure minority. Here we have the life of the American foundress of the Holy Cross nuns, whom General Grant described in a letter to General Sherman as "a woman of rare charm, unusual ability and exceptional executive talent." He came to know her when, at his urgent appeal for Sister nurses in the Civil war, she and eighty of her Sisters left their class-rooms and organized smoothly running military hospitals close to the front. He paid her no idle compliment; his description of her is apt, as all readers of this life will agree. It helps us to understand why she was held in high esteem by such men as Cardinal Gibbons and Orestes Brownson. Older readers will be reminded of the historic oversight which deprived James Gillespie Blaine of the Presidency on the eve of the election; he was a first cousin of Mother Angela.

Eliza Gillespie was on her way to become a Sister of Mercy in Chicago when she stopped over at Notre Dame to visit her brother. The sight of the poverty and difficulties of the few French Sisters in their pioneer school at Bertrand was a challenge to her holy zeal and she became one of them. From meager and unpromising material she was mainly instrumental in forming an imposing educational system, with Saint Mary's College at Notre Dame fulfilling her life-long dream of higher education for Catholic women. The diversity of her talents and her unflagging energy are extraordinary: besides establishing schools and hospitals in various cities, she compiled School Readers for Catholic schools, was in all but name the first editor of the *Ave Maria*, all the while meeting with harrowing delays in her paramount task of obtaining from Rome the solemn approbation of the Constitutions of the Holy Cross nuns in this country. The approbation came shortly after her death. She was and is a *mulier fortis*, not only to her Sisters but to all of us.

JAMES J. DALY

WILD ORCHARD. By Isabel Dick. Thomas Y. Crowell Co. \$2.50

WILD ORCHARD tells of the experiences of Harriat, an English girl of semi-aristocratic birth, who went to Van Diemen's land with her young husband to help him convert into a prosperous farm a vast tract of land which he had inherited from his father.

The author seems to feel that the story is one of heroic adjustment to a frontier life, of masterly adaptation to the

difficulties of a primitive society. And it is true that there are hardships, but adjustment to them is so singularly expedited by a concatenation of favorable circumstances that there is little need for the heroic virtues. For instance, Harriat found that the cabin which was to shelter her during the first days on the farm had been burned to its foundations; but her Aladdin-like husband spoke a word: building materials and convicts materialized, and a staunch, fine home was up in virtually no time. After Maggie, the mad maid, had to be packed off to the cells, inexperienced Harriat had to do the cooking; but Providence decreed that the first time a serious culinary difficulty arose, a kind neighbor should send her precocious child to instruct Harriat. A bush ranger came to her home when Harriat was alone, came with intent to murder her and steal; but he stayed to drink in and be touched by the English beauty and charm of his intended victim. Every other difficulty she encountered had a similarly glorious silver lining.

For those who like sunny romance moving irresistibly, and with little regard for good characterization and good sense, to a sunny conclusion; for those who like adventure stories making use of the tried and sturdy *Swiss Family Robinson* formula, *Wild Orchard* will provide a few hours of escape. For all others, it will provide only exasperation.

IRENE MANN

**STEAMBOATS COME TRUE. AMERICAN INVENTORS IN ACTION.** By James Thomas Flexner. The Viking Press. \$3.50

**ANYTHING A HORSE CAN DO. THE STORY OF THE HELICOPTER.** By Colonel H. F. Gregory. Reynal and Hitchcock. \$3

THE HISTORY of the invention of self-propelled surface vessels is given to us in the first of these volumes, from Hero's engine down to Robert Fulton, who is credited in the popular verdict as the actual inventor of the steamboat.

The narrative is chatty and interesting and at the same time well documented with an appendix of twenty-two pages containing a bibliography of sources and notes.

In the *Story of the Helicopter*, Colonel Gregory does for the air what Mr. Flexner has accomplished for the sea—that is, he gives us a "blow by blow" account of its re-conquest by a specific and highly specialized type of transportation. And here we find, mingled with the historical, a bit more of the technical aspect of the topics handled. The theory of flight of the three types of heavier-than-air craft—the airplane, the autogyro and the helicopter—are clearly explained for the layman, with adequate diagrams. The advantages of the helicopter for battle-front evacuation, certain types of air defense and combat, as well as for the more peaceful uses of conservation and exploration of the earth's surface, are stressed.

Both books are profusely illustrated, the latter with excellent photographs, the former with reproductions of appropriate paintings and line cuts.

J. S. O'CONOR

REV. WILFRID PARSONS, S.J., a former Editor of AMERICA, is now Professor of Political Science at Catholic University, Washington, D. C.

REV. E. HAROLD SMITH studied Economics and Sociology at the Catholic University of America for two years while the Most Reverend Francis J. Haas headed the Social Science Department.

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## THEATRE

**HOPE FOR THE BEST.** We all wanted to give a rousing welcome to William McCleery's new comedy, produced at the Fulton Theatre by Jean Dalrymple and Marc Connelly, with Franchot Tone and Jane Wyatt in the leading roles. We like both stars and producers and we desired them to win out in their new play. This they would certainly have done if the author had been up to his associates.

Even as it is, Miss Wyatt, who has been away from us in Hollywood too long, proved that she is realizing all the promise of her early appearances among us in New York. In a disappointing play she stands out as the refreshing feature to which audiences thankfully give their eyes and ears during most of the performance. Joan Wetmore, however, rather overdoes her unpleasant role as a political columnist. Mr. Tone, as a popular newspaper-syndicate philosopher, has a part so nebulous that it is doubtful if any actor could put life into it.

The small cast of seven includes Doro Merande, excellent in her role. So is Jack Hartley, owner of another syndicate, and Leo Bulgakov as a designer of dramograms. There is a nice setting by Mr. Motley and also fine direction by Marc Connelly. In short, all that *Hope for the Best* needs is a good plot and an experienced playwright.

**ONE MAN SHOW.** The week of which I write has been a disappointing one in the theatre. The plot of *One Man Show*, written by Ruth Goodman and Augustus Goetz and produced at the Barrymore, is described as "delicate." It is as delicate as a bad odor. It deals with the unsavory subject of a father-daughter fixation, with Constance Cummings doing good work in a putrid play. The leading role does not fit Frank Conroy, which is to his credit. He is an art dealer, using his daughter freely and constantly as first aid in various business and human relations. John Archer rescues her from him in the end, and James Rennie does good work as a wealthy art patron. Jed Harris is producer and director, and Stewart Chaney's settings are excellent.

**THE OVERTONS.** The third dramatic spasm of the week is a comedy by Vincent Lawrence, produced by Paul Czinner and staged by Elizabeth Bergner at the Booth. Miss Bergner should not have wasted her time. The play is dull, talky and static. Its two leading characters have been married eight years and are still in love. The plot is too silly to discuss. Mr. Edward Gilbert's settings are nice and some of the acting, especially that of Miss Arlene Francis and Miss Glenda Farrell, is pretty good.

ELIZABETH JORDAN

## FILMS

**THUNDERHEAD, SON OF FLICKA.** All the pictorial beauty plus the human touches and high bits of drama that distinguished *My Friend Flicka* have been captured again to make this one of the fine pictures of the season. Once more the story of a boy and a horse is highlighted with suspense, poignant moments and intense excitement. Roddy McDowall is cast as before in the role of the boy on the Utah ranch, with Preston Foster and Rita Johnson playing his parents. The bringing-up of Flicka's colt involves many emotional upsets for his young master who sees his dreams of rearing a winner vanish when, during a race, the horse throws his rider and bolts for the hills. How *Thunderhead* redeems himself, tracks down the albino killer, his own grand-sire, whose escapades have terrorized the plains and impoverished the ranchers, then fights him to the death and goes back to the freedom he craves, is all tensely recorded. Technicolor adds immeasurable beauty to the exquisite panoramas of the West. You will be thrilled with the film's generous eye-appeal and pleased with a fine musical background. Everyone, *young and old*, is certain to find this tender and very human story a real celluloid treat. (*Twentieth Century-Fox*)

**THE THREE CABALLEROS.** The entertainment screen, after a lapse of a couple of years, is now enjoying a new creation from the facile brain of Walt Disney. This latest brainchild brings back some old friends, principally Donald Duck and Joe Carioca, and introduces many newcomers such as the frigid penguin, Pablo, the little Gaucho boy with his winged donkey, and the Mexican rooster, who fills third place among the caballeros. No doubt, we will be seeing them again—at least I hope so. Donald Duck's birthday present takes him on a tour that extends from the South Pole up to Mexico. En route, he stops off at Bahia in Brazil, and then a magic carpet whisks him off to several Mexican spots. Every inch of these travels is filled with dazzling beauty and, needless to say, lots of fun. Besides his imaginative, gorgeous drawings, Disney has injected something new, for this time he uses human beings in conjunction with his caricatures. Real people dance and sing while Donald indulges in his amazing antics. Aurora Miranda handles the Brazilian numbers with the expected South American verve, while Carmen Molina and Dora Luz are featured during the Mexican interlude. Much tuneful music has been blended into the action with *Baia*, *The Three Caballeros* and *You Belong to My Heart* standing out in the score. All the family will love this grab-bag of lavish beauty, likable songs and gay comedy. (*R.K.O.-Radio*)

MARY SHERIDAN

## PARADE

**DISPATCHES INVOLVING** longevity filtered into the news. . . . One account told of an Englishman whose hobby it is to scan the obituary columns of the London *Times* and record the individuals around the world who live eighty years or more. . . . In 1944, he recorded the deaths of 480 persons aged ninety years or more. . . . After thirty years of poking into obituary columns, he has amassed a list of 12,508 persons aged ninety or more, and 301 aged one hundred or more. The oldest individual in his record book is an Irishman who touched 114. . . . Another dispatch dealt with the one-hundredth birthday of a Maine woman, daughter of a father who topped 114, of a mother who reached 112. . . . This Maine woman, entering her second century of existence, still possesses excellent eyesight and hearing and can walk without a cane. With a still vigorous memory, she discourses readily and clearly about the myriad experiences of her long life.

Achievement of one hundred years of life on earth is an extremely rare event and is always news. . . . If interest in individuals only one hundred years old is so great, how much greater would the interest be in a person more than 1,900 years old? . . . If there were, for instance, a woman that old now living, the whole human race would be talking about

her incredibly long life. . . . Newspapers would give her birthdays front-page and banner headlines. . . . People everywhere would be remarking: "I see she has another birthday. There's never been anyone in history who lived so long." . . . "They've been burying her for centuries, but she's still above ground." . . . "She has seen the rise and fall of nations; will no doubt outlive every nation existing today."

In such a hypothesis such discussion would be quite understandable. . . . What is not understandable, however, is that there is little or no discussion concerning the extraordinarily long life not of a hypothetical being but of a being actually existing—a being now well along in her twentieth century of life. . . . Never do newspapers run these banner headlines: "Catholic Church Now More Than 1,900 Years Old." . . . Rarely, in the homes, on the street-cars, trains, ships, are these conversations heard: "I see where the Catholic Church is marking her 1940th birthday." . . . "She's seen the rise and fall of nations; will no doubt outlive all nations existing today." . . . "She seems to get stronger the longer she lives." . . . Amazing, indeed, is the endlessly long life of the Catholic Church. . . . More amazing still is the widespread blindness of men to the deep significance of that long, indestructible life.

JOHN A. TOOMEY

## CORRESPONDENCE

### CAPITALISM: PRO AND CON

EDITOR: I respectfully dissent from the view expressed in *Must We Keep Capitalism?* in yours of February 3. This article states that there is little or no connection between the American Constitution and American progress. The author describes their dual development as a "coincidence," and a "mere historical accident."

Father Hogan attributes America's growth to four factors "extrinsic" to our system of private capitalism, which is the only kind of capitalism there is except state capitalism. In the former a man is permitted to reap the fruit of his own effort: in the second, he gets what is given him by the politicians of the day. In one you have a free market; in the other, a government-owned or controlled market which fixes prices, rents, wages, interest, allocates raw materials, decides what industry shall start up or grow, which factory shall get the orders, and who does what under the "palsied hand" of bureaucracy—to use Woodrow Wilson's phrase.

The Constitution gave us a government of limited power over men. This made it possible for free enterprise to thrive. But in a government of unlimited power, state capitalism takes the place of free enterprise. The Constitution took shackles off the hands of men, and put them on the wrists of their governors. It set men free to plan their own lives under the assurance that they might *keep* what they honestly *earned*. It believed that a man would work harder for himself than for another man: harder for his own children than for the children of a stranger. The Constitution thus released the most powerful incentives to work and climb the ladder of success the world has ever known. It turned work, thrift, sweat and hope loose in the free and fortunate land.

To assume, as Fr. Hogan does, that constitutional protection to honestly acquired property, to patents, to investments, and freedom from crushing taxation, from government competition, from sticky fly-paper bureaucracy, which came from a government of *limited* power under our Constitution, had nothing to do with a greater advance in one century in America than in twenty centuries before, betrays a shocking ignorance. . . .

Fr. Hogan attributes our progress, on the contrary, to: 1) "a rapidly expanding population" (why did millions of Europeans cross the Atlantic except to be free?); 2) "technological improvements" (which trace directly to the stimulation to invent and develop—to have and to hold—which the Constitution gave); 3) "a great expanse of fertile land" (China, Russia, Mexico, Egypt, and India had fertile land, also) and, 4) "an economic mentality of unbounded optimism" (does he think Americans would have had this "Pike's Peak or Bust" spirit if they were not free men? . . .)

New York City

SAMUEL B. PETTENGILL

EDITOR: Mr. Pettengill's letter, as I see it, contains two parts.

First, there is the contention, "that this article states that there is little or no connection between the American Constitution and American progress." This, I regret to say, is a false inference. What I did say was that capitalism was in part responsible for our spectacular economic development, but that it was an historical coincidence that capitalism began to develop at the time we adopted the Constitution. Consequently, many Americans have identified capitalism with the American form of government. Though no explicit reference to constitutional protection was made (the article dealt mainly with economic factors), it would hardly seem to follow that I assumed "that constitutional protection . . . had nothing to do with a greater advance in one century in America than twenty centuries before. . . ."

The second point is that we have a "system of private capitalism, which is the only kind of capitalism there is except state capitalism." If this be true, it would seem to follow, judging from Mr. Pettengill's description of state capitalism, that any change from our present economic system must be to some type of economy based on the Russian model, with

the attendant evils listed by Mr. Pettengill. Now I have stated an historical fact, viz., that the conditions on which a laissez-faire economy depends have disappeared. We can just as readily deny Pearl Harbor as deny that the rate of population growth has fallen off materially, that we have reached the end of our territorial expansion, that people today are far more interested in security than in building large fortunes. All are historical facts. Therefore, since it was shown that the conditions under which laissez-faire capitalism flourished no longer exist, it would appear to follow logically that laissez-faire capitalism itself can no longer exist.

Does it follow that we must have state capitalism in its place? Is there not another choice left to us of a modified form of capitalism between the two extremes? And if there is, can we have it without the sacrifice of the fundamental liberties granted by the Constitution? The answer is emphatically yes. In fact such a modified form would be far more in agreement with the aims and spirit of the Constitution than laissez-faire ever was. I heartily agree with Mr. Pettengill that "the Constitution took the shackles off the hands of free men and put them on the wrists of their governors." This is entirely true in the political sense, but laissez-faire capitalism, even under our Constitution, has already put economic handcuffs on the wrists of politically free men. . . .

The change to a different type of capitalism is inevitable and does not mean our future is buried in the past. It can well mean that more Americans will have a fuller share in our future. It is time that we took a more factual outlook on the situation and recognized the necessity for this change. Looking backward we can see why the Guild System and the Mercantile System had to give way. They became inadequate for the needs of their day. The same is true of laissez-faire capitalism today.

We must remember that we need an altered economic system, not an altered political one. Fundamental political liberties and rights must and can be maintained. Therefore we must realize that one who advocates a change can be a sound economist and an American citizen sincerely attached to American institutions.

Woodstock, Md.

WILLIAM T. HOGAN, S.J.

### BILLION-DOLLAR BANKS

EDITOR: I was quite startled in reading your editorial comment regarding "billion-dollar banks." It seemed to me for a while that I was reading either the *Daily Worker* or the *Masses*.

You seem to feel that there is something sinister in the fact that bank deposits have been greatly enlarged during the past few years.

I feel that you should have taken the trouble to ascertain the reason for this increase. You would find that it is due to the fact that the banks have been financing the war. I think that most Americans would consider this a patriotic service and would be more inclined to compliment our banking capacity on its achievement rather than indulge in veiled innuendo.

If you have any questions, I think that, instead of vaguely phrasing them, you might go to the trouble of consulting some of the presidents of the larger banks, who, I know, would be very happy to see you, and who, I am sure, could answer a lot of these implications.

Philadelphia

PHILIP COONEY

[The correspondent seems to have missed the point of the Comment, namely, that the growing concentration of economic power as represented by billion-dollar banks, is a threat to private enterprise. AMERICA was attacking, not the idea of banking and bank deposits, but the trend toward private collectivism in banking. It fears that private collectivism will not long remain private.—EDITOR.]

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## THE WORD

HUMAN BEINGS are not built to live in the present only. No matter how often we tell ourselves to "let the dead past bury its dead" or to "let the future take care of itself," we cannot do it. It is, of course, silly to live too much in the past, to dig around in the graveyard of past sins and mistakes, or even to float around in the lost paradise of past joys. Yet a prudent remembrance of past mistakes gives present wisdom. A sorrowful recollection of past sins can be a spur to penance and holier living. Past joys are a pledge in present sorrow that no sorrow is without end.

So it is with living in the future. Overdone, it can develop into day-dreaming. Yet we find it impossible to live just for the present moment or the present day. Fundamentally we cannot do so because we were not born for the present day. We are not completely at home in any day of our life. We are made for a life beyond this and in us is a restlessness that keeps us straining into the future, speeding the present moment no matter how joyful it be. It is a good thing to squeeze all the joy we can out of the present moment but somehow or other we never succeed in doing it, for we know that there is a better moment to come. That is in us the longing for immortality, for Heaven.

A priest once told a group of people of an old man who never said anything but the Sorrowful Mysteries of the Rosary, and the reason he gave was: "There will be time enough for the Joyful Mysteries and the Glorious Mysteries in Heaven." True enough, but even in the midst of hard things and suffering things here below we need for our courage the looking forward, the longing for, the hope of the glorious mysteries of Heaven.

During Lent, of all the seasons of the year, we keep our eyes fixed on the suffering Christ, and yet even during Lent the Church tells us also to lift our eyes to the glorified Christ. The Christ of the Transfiguration in today's Gospel (Matt. 17, 1-9) is a promise to the Apostles of the glorified Christ in triumph, a promise of their own triumph, their own glorification if for a time, and a very brief time at that, they follow the suffering Christ. Christ with His kindly understanding of human nature and its weaknesses knew that His suffering and death would shock them terribly, so terribly that for a moment they would forget all His miracles, all the Divinity shown forth in His words, in His very manner; and He gave them this slight glimpse of Himself in glory that in quiet moments they might remember it and regain their confidence and hope. In that same kindly understanding of human weakness. He knows that we too can become so downhearted, so lost in suffering and sorrow that we too can be on the verge of despair. Against despair He gives us this picture of eternal glory.

Saint Paul constantly preached the Resurrection of Christ and with it the promise of our own resurrection. To him God granted a private glimpse of Heaven, one that he never forgot—"Eye hath not seen nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man the things God hath prepared for them that love him."

The Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, which is a renewal of the Holy Sacrifice of Calvary, is a memorial also of "the Resurrection and Ascension of Our Lord Jesus Christ." While we offer the Sacrifice we are "calling to mind the blessed Passion of the same Christ Thy Son Our Lord, His Resurrection from the grave and His glorious Ascension into Heaven."

"*Sursum Corda*," then "Lift up your hearts" is the very simple lesson of the Mass of the Second Sunday in Lent. It is the lesson of the Gospel, and also of the Epistle, for if we read but a few more verses of this epistle of Saint Paul we come across the lines that we use in the Requiem Mass: "That you be not sorrowful even as others who have no hope." When our dear ones go from us, we know that they have gone to the life for which they were born. While we ourselves suffer and struggle through the Lent of life we know that our resurrection is before us. We know that life and its sufferings are short, that Heaven is eternal, and we pray to have such a deep longing for the joys of Heaven that anything in life will seem worth bearing for the hope of the life to come.

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